THE LETTERS
OF
STEPHEN GARDINER

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Edited by

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To my Wife

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Note. Letters here marked * have not hitherto been printed in full; those marked † have not hitherto been printed from the manuscript version here used; those marked ‡ have not been reprinted since the sixteenth century; those marked § are not calendared in the *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII*. The last sign is not used with letters written subsequently to that reign. The same signs are used in the text with other meanings—*see* p. xxxvii.

PREFACE

I AM peculiarly indebted to my friends and former colleagues, Dr L. R. Shero, Professor of Greek in Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania, and Dr Irville F. Davidson, Professor of Latin in St Stephen's College, Columbia University, for assistance in the translation and editing of some of the letters. Nos. 63 and 72, on the pronunciation of Greek, have been translated and edited by Dr Shero, who has also read and corrected the proof of portions of No. 125. The translation of this last is mainly the work of Dr Davidson, who has also assisted me in the translation of five of the shorter letters. Both have helped me identify classical allusions and have given me valuable suggestions as to the editing of the Latin texts.

The transcript of two Italian letters, No. 162 and No. 4 in the Appendix, the manuscript copy of which is in a remarkably difficult hand, was made by Miss Helen M. Briggs of the University of London, whose translation of them I have used as a basis of my own, and who kindly corrected the letters in proof with the manuscript.

I am debtor to librarians and their assistants in many repositories, and especially to the staffs of the British Museum and the Public Record Office for their unfailing helpfulness and efficiency.

Particular courtesies have been shown me or information and expert opinion on special matters given me by the Rev. C. H. Smyth of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, the Rev. Canon Claude Jenkins of Lambeth, Mr G. C. Crump, formerly of the Public Record Office, Mr A. E. Stamp and Mr A. C. Wood of the same institution, Mr R. Flower of the British Museum, Mr H. I. Pink of the University Library, Cambridge, M. H. Omont of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Mr W. B. Briggs of the Harvard Library, Mr F. J. Snell of the Inner Temple, Mr E. Galen Thompson, Librarian to the Earl of Ellesmere, the Hon. Philip P. Cary, York Herald, of the College of Arms, Mr J. R. H. Weaver of Trinity College, Oxford, Dr W. H. S. Jones of St Catharine's College, Cambridge, Professors W. C. Greene, C. H. Grandgent, and E. A. Whitney of Harvard, and my colleague, the Rev. Professor W. H. P. Hatch of the Episcopal Theological School.

I have received no little help in the solution of knotty problems from

the members of the Thursday evening seminar at the Institute of Historical Research, London, especially Miss E. Jeffries Davis, Mr C. H. Williams, and Professor A. F. Pollard. M. Pierre Janelle of Clermont-Ferrand has graciously answered questions on phases of Gardiner's literary activity of which he is making a special study.

Miss Doris Leach has capably assisted me in the transcription of several of the letters and in discovering sources of information on some of the less known persons named in them.

A grant from the Milton Fund by the Corporation of Harvard University enabled me to spend portions of two summers in England collecting material for this volume and to pay for a considerable amount of secretarial aid. A subsequent sabbatical leave of absence with salary, granted by the Trustees of the Episcopal Theological School, made it possible for me to complete the work.

It has been a joy to have such considerate and careful publishers as the Cambridge University Press, and my thanks are due to all by whom the work of the Press is conducted, and especially to Mr S. C. Roberts, Secretary, and Mr C. E. Carrington, Educational Secretary.

Recalling how courteously I was assisted by the attendants at the Bishop of London's Registry when looking up material there, it is with reluctance that I add a word of protest against the practice of that Registry of demanding a fee for every consultation of a register, no matter what the purpose for which the consultation is made. If the presence of scholars or the production of registers for them taxes the capacity of the Registry and the time of the Registrar, it would seem that at least the older documents might be deposited in some library, such as Lambeth or the British Museum, where accredited students could have access to them. It is much to be regretted that the invaluable historical material in English episcopal registers is not in all places as freely accessible as are the Canterbury registers at Lambeth.

J. A. M.

March 1933

INTRODUCTION

As secretary to Cardinal Wolsey, counsellor of Henry VIII, chief minister of that monarch for the last six years of his reign, and Lord Chancellor under Queen Mary, Gardiner had a hand in practically every diplomatic and political manœuvre of his time, and was the friend—or enemy—of every person of prominence. All this is reflected in his letters. He was likewise bishop of one of the most important of English dioceses and leader of conservative churchmen. His letters form a running comment from the conservative or Catholic point of view on the Henrician and Edwardine reformations. They also express the opinion of one who was admitted on all hands to be the ablest English jurist of his day, on such constitutional matters as the relation of the royal supremacy and of the royal power in general to parliamentary enactment and the Common Law; they illustrate the activities and ideas of a University Chancellor who was at once humanist, legist, and theologian; they abound in vivid comment on notable contemporaries, and in illuminating allusions to customs of the day; and they reveal a many-sided personality which attacked life vigorously, alertly, and not without humour.

Moreover, since many of them were written informally and rapidly, and sent without revision, they afford admirable examples of colloquial English as used by a man of culture in the second quarter of the sixteenth century.

The letters fall naturally into groups, *e.g.*, those written while secretary to the Cardinal, or on a particular embassy, or while prisoner in the Fleet. In this edition each group is preceded by an introductory note in explanation of the circumstances in which the letters were written and of the chief matters referred to, with some indication of the letters in the group which are of most interest and importance.

A summary sketch of Gardiner's life is given at p. xxv. Authorities for statements made therein and for many statements concerning his activities, made throughout this collection, as well as fuller references to authorities on most phases of his career, may be found in my *Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction*, London and New York, 1926.

WHAT IS INCLUDED IN THIS EDITION

This edition includes all the letters written by Gardiner in his own name, known to me, except four letters to John Cheke on the pronunciation of Greek. These four, one of which is virtually a treatise, and Cheke's replies, of even greater length, were published in Cheke's *De Pronuntiatione Graecae*, 1555, and reprinted in Havercamp, *Sylloge Altera*, 1740. They are usually regarded as among Gardiner's published works and would be more fittingly reprinted in an edition of them.

Letters written by Gardiner in his name and that of one or more of his colleagues on diplomatic missions, or on committees of the Privy Council, diplomatic and administrative memoranda in his hand, and letters drafted by him for the Council or the King are not here printed. Their inclusion would more than double the bulk of the collection, and, although they are of Gardiner's composition, they obviously do not afford as intimate an expression of his views as letters written solely in his own name. Moreover, some of them have been printed, with more or less accuracy, in Pocock's *Records of the Reformation*, and many, with entire accuracy, in the *State Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII*.

Considerations of space have also contributed to the exclusion of letters to Gardiner; but when such letters are direct answers to letters from him, or are directly answered by letters from him, reference is made to their location and, where it seemed to be in point, their content is briefly indicated.

Translations of Latin and Italian letters are added, except

in those cases in which translations or English abstracts are printed elsewhere.

Of the one hundred and seventy-three letters here printed, eight are prefatory letters from Gardiner's published works, seven of which have not been reprinted since the sixteenth century. Of the rest, seventy-five have been elsewhere printed in full, with varying degrees of accuracy, and scattered through more than a score of volumes. Ninety have not been hitherto printed in full. Of the five items in the Appendix, one is from a rare sixteenth-century book; four have not been previously printed.

Of the letters written before the death of Henry VIII, all but ten have been calendared in the *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII*, the summaries there given varying considerably in fullness and adequacy; of those written during the reigns of Edward VI and Mary, only seven are listed in Lemon's *Calendar of State Papers*, and these with the briefest possible indication of their content. None of the items in the Appendix are mentioned in either of these calendars.

SOURCES

The originals of one hundred and twelve of the letters are extant, as are Gardiner's drafts of large parts of two and of the whole of a third, as well as contemporary copies of two made under his direction and endorsed by him. All the originals, except five in the Parker collection at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and one in the Stadt Bibliotek, Breslau, are preserved in the Public Record Office and the British Museum. For the rest, manuscript copies in various collections, chiefly in London, Paris, and Cambridge, or early-printed books have, of necessity, been relied upon. Beside the eight published prefatory letters, early-printed books supply seventeen letters and part of an eighteenth. One is taken from Noailles, *Ambassades*, two from Stow, *Annales*, and fourteen and part of another from

Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*. A manuscript copy, or perhaps Gardiner's draft, of one of those in Stow, was, and presumably still is, among the Egerton Papers, but I have been unable to find it at Bridgewater House.

Since the source from which each letter is printed is indicated immediately after its heading, there is no need for more detailed reference to these sources here. Two of them, however, call for special remark.

B.M., Add. MS. 28,571 supplies manuscript copies of seven hitherto unpublished letters, as well as parts of three printed in Foxe. The history of the volume is obscure. It contains the book plate of John Fuller Russell and was purchased by the British Museum in 1871 from the Rev. J. C. Jackson who, on 23 November, 1870, wrote to the Museum saying that it had been left in his hands by a wealthy gentleman who did not care to possess it, and describing it as a collection of original autographs said to have belonged to Bishop Burnet. There are indeed some autograph letters in the volume, but the letters on ff. 3–21 are clearly copies, of the sixteenth century. They are in two hands, ff. 3–12, 15–20 being in one; ff. 13–14, 21 in another. Nos. 126–7, 140–3, and App. 3, in this edition, two letters to Gardiner mentioned on pp. 285, 431, below, and a note from the royal visitors of 1547 to Gardiner's chancellor are in the first hand, parts of Nos. 120, 133, 135 in the second. The leaves of the manuscript have been bound into the volume of which they now form a part out of their proper sequence, so that, for example, No. 126 begins on f. 16 v., goes through f. 20 v., and ends on f. 6 r. Moreover, the opening leaf of the letter which finishes on ff. 13–4, (No. 135) has found its way into the Bibliothèque Nationale, in Paris, as f. 48 of MS. Latin 6051.

B.N., MS. Latin 6051 is a folio volume of 51 leaves, containing (ff. 30–46 r.) a copy, probably of the sixteenth century, of the longest letter in our collection, No. 125, as well as the two opening pages of No. 130 (ff. 46 v.–47 r.) and those of No. 135, already mentioned (f. 48 r. and v.). Ff. 30–46 r. are

in one hand, ff. 46 v.–48 in another, which is the same as that of ff. 13–14, 21 of Add. MS. 28,571. This would seem to indicate that Gardiner's letters in these two manuscripts were originally in one collection. M. H. Omont of the Bibliothèque Nationale tells me that nothing is known of the history of MS. Latin 6051, except that it was acquired by the library in 1732, with Colbert's collection of manuscripts; and he hazards the suggestion that, since it appears to have been at one time completely wet, it may have been rescued from a shipwreck. The tracing of the relation of this to B.M., Add. MS. 28,571 would make a pleasant problem for one interested in the wanderings of manuscripts.

I have searched for reference to Gardiner letters through all the publications of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, all the printed calendars of the period, all the catalogues of manuscript collections of French and English libraries to be found in the British Museum, as well as the catalogues, both printed and in manuscript, of the collections at the British Museum, the libraries at Oxford and Cambridge, and the Vatican. I have also consulted the leading London booksellers who deal in manuscripts for possible record or knowledge of the sale of Gardiner letters. There is record of the sale of some Privy Council letters bearing his signature, but none of letters from him as an individual. M. Janelle tells me that he has hunted in vain for Gardiner material at Strasbourg.

TREATMENT AND ARRANGEMENT OF TEXT

With the exception of two brief notes (Nos. 168, 173), all letters taken from manuscripts in England have been corrected in proof with the manuscripts; all from manuscripts on the Continent have been corrected in proof with photostatic reproductions of the manuscripts; all from early-printed books have been corrected in proof with the printed texts.

In preparing the text for publication and in its arrangement,

I have endeavoured to follow the recommendations of the Committee of the Conference of Anglo-American Historians, embodied in their reports on the editing of historical documents, printed in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London, June, 1923, and June, 1925.

The original spelling is reproduced as accurately as possible, except that abbreviations are extended (in italics, where there is any uncertainty about them), modern use followed in the cases of *i* and *j*, *u* and *v*, and modern methods of capitalization and punctuation adopted. Since some diversity exists in modern use in the printing of *i*, *j*, *u*, *v* in Latin, it should be noted that in Latin texts *i* is used for both vocal and consonantal *i*, *u* for vocal and *v* for consonantal *u*. A note on Gardiner's English spelling, punctuation, use of capitals, and abbreviation, and the treatment of the last in this edition, is given at p. 520. For a similar note in reference to manuscript copies *see* p. 523.

Footnotes are rsserved for textual matters exclusively. For explanation of signs and abbreviations used in them *see* p. xxxvii.

Identifications of persons and places are given in the index.

Historical or explanatory matter is given either in the introductory notes to groups of letters, or in connection with the introductory résumé preceding each letter; where fuller treatment of specific topics is necessary a note or notes follow the letter. Locations of Scripture quotations are not ordinarily given, since they can be readily found with the help of a concordance. For pages on which they occur *see* Index, 'Scripture'.

In Gardiner holographs all crossings out, interlineations, and other corrections are indicated in the footnotes. In letters printed from manuscript copies no note has been made of what are clearly scribal errors, or of the scribe's correction of his own errors.

The paragraphing in Gardiner holographs is here followed, but letters taken from manuscript copies, several of which are

of considerable length and without break, are here divided into paragraphs.

The letters from Foxe, Stow, and Gardiner's printed books have been treated in much the same way as those from manuscripts; that is, the original spelling has been retained, but capitalization, punctuation, and paragraphing have been modernized, and present-day usage in the case of *i* and *j*, *u* and *v* followed. For the usage of the books referred to *see* p. 525.

The first edition, 1563, has been used as the basic text of all letters from Foxe. This has been compared with the other editions issued in Foxe's lifetime; namely, 1570, 1576, 1583. Verbal differences, not mere differences in spelling or those due to printer's errors, are recorded in the footnotes. It should be noted, however, that of the Gardiner letters printed in 1563 only one was reprinted in 1570 and 1576, and five in 1583.

Variants in Foxe's text in editions subsequent to his death are not here noted; but in a few instances I have indicated emendations in the best modern edition of Foxe, that by J. Pratt (in the Church Historians of England Series, 8 vols. in 16, London, 1853–70). I have indicated the location of the letters from Foxe in the Pratt edition, as well as in the editions of 1563–83.

As here printed each letter is preceded by a heading giving the person to whom it was addressed and the place and date of writing. This is followed by an indication of the source from which it is taken. An asterisk (*) following, indicates that the letter is holograph. If it has been calendared in the *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII*, the letters *L.P.*, with the appropriate reference numbers, are added; and if it has been printed elsewhere, title and page of the work in which it appears are given. An explanatory list of abbreviations and short titles used in such references may be found at p. 526. No attempt has been made to point out erroneous readings in hitherto printed versions of the letters.

At the end of each letter the address and contemporary

endorsement, if any, are given. Endorsements or notes in later hands are not reproduced. When no address is here printed the address is missing from the manuscript. As was customary in his day, Gardiner's letters were normally written on folio leaves, then folded into four, sealed, and addressed on the back of the outer leaf. In some cases this leaf, when nothing was written on the inside of it, was not preserved; hence the missing address.

As far as the addresses are preserved in the holograph letters, they are in Gardiner's hand, except those to Nos. 78, 85–6, 88, 91, 94, 98, 101–3, 105, 107–9, which are in that of one of his secretaries; the words below the address, however, in Nos. 86, 101–3, 105 are in Gardiner's hand.

Needless to say, endorsements are in the hand of the recipient of the letter or his secretary, not in that of the writer.

When postscripts are here printed before the signature they are so placed in the manuscript. It was customary to sign letters not immediately after the last sentence, but at the bottom of the page, and if some space intervened, as it often did, a postscript could be inserted above the signature.

In headings and notes, dates are given according to modern usage, the first of January, not the twenty-fifth of March, being taken as the beginning of the year; but where year dates occur in the sources, they are printed as there given, with the correction in brackets.

In a few cases where it seemed that an obsolete word would be likely to cause misunderstanding, I have bracketed an explanatory word in the text, but for the most part the meaning of obsolete words is given in the glossary at p. 528.

The bracket [ ] in the text signifies that the words or letters it encloses would, in my judgment, have been in the manuscript had it not been mutilated; the bracket ⟨ ⟩ indicates material inserted by me to complete the sense or clarify the meaning. In the headings, the bracket [ ] indicates that the name, date, or place enclosed is not found in the letter, its address, or its contemporary endorsement, but is supplied from other evidence.

SOME DATES IN GARDINER'S LIFE

c. 1497	Born at Bury St Edmunds.
1511	As youth, in Paris, meets Erasmus.
1511–24	Student and teacher at Cambridge.
Oct. (?), 1524–July, 1529	Secretary to Wolsey.
1525	Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge.
July–Sept., 1527	Accompanies Wolsey to France.
Feb.–Sept., 1528	Embassy to Clement VII at Orvieto.
Jan.–June, 1529	Embassy to Clement VII at Rome.
June–July, 1529	Counsel for Henry VIII in divorce trial in Legatine Court.
July, 1529–Apr., 1534	Principal Secretary to Henry VIII.
Sept., 1531	Bishop of Winchester.
Jan.–Mar., 1532	Embassy to France.
Apr., 1532	Defends rights of Convocation.
May, 1533	Counsel for Henry VIII in divorce trial in Archbishop's Court.
Sept.–Nov., 1533	Sent to intimate to Clement VII, at Marseilles, Henry's appeal to a General Council.
Jan.–Mar., 1534	Opposes royal ecclesiastical policy in Parliament.
Sept., 1535	Completes *De Vera Obedientia* and reply to brief of Paul III.
Oct., 1535–Sept., 1538	Resident ambassador in France.
May, 1539	Advocates Act of Six Articles in Parliament.
Feb.–Mar., 1540	Controversy with Robert Barnes.
June, 1540	Fall of Cromwell.
July, 1540	Counsel for Henry VIII in divorce of Anne of Cleves.
July (?), 1540	Chancellor of Cambridge University.
Nov., 1540–Sept., 1541	Embassy to Charles V at Ratisbon.
Lent, 1542	Designated by Henry VIII as his chief minister.
May–Oct., 1542	Controversy with Cheke and Smith on Greek pronunciation.
1542–6	Purveyor to the forces, in wars with Scotland and France.
Apr.–May, 1543	Influential in preparing the *King's Book*.

July–Oct., 1544	With the army and Council at Boulogne.
Oct.–Nov., 1544	Embassy to Charles V at Brussels.
1544–6	Writes against Bucer, Turner, Joye.
Oct., 1545–Mar., 1546	Embassy to Charles V at Bruges and Antwerp.
June, 1546	Mission to Boulogne to confer with Hertford on its defence.
28 Jan., 1547	Death of Henry VIII.
Aug., 1547	Protests against injunctions of Edward VI.
25 Sept., 1547–7 Jan., 1548	Prisoner in the Fleet.
Nov. (?), 1547	Ousted from Chancellorship of Cambridge.
19 Jan.–20 Feb., 1548	Prisoner in his house in Southwark.
May, 1548	Completes third book against Bucer.
29 June, 1548	St Peter's Day sermon at Court.
30 June, 1548–3 Aug., 1553	Prisoner in the Tower; writes against Cranmer and others on the Sacrament.
12 Oct., 1549	Warwick overthrows Somerset.
15 Dec., 1550	Trial begins.
14 Feb., 1551	Deprived of bishopric of Winchester.
1551 (?)	Ousted from Mastership of Trinity Hall.
6 July, 1553	Death of Edward VI.
Aug., 1553	Released from Tower; restored to see of Winchester, Mastership of Trinity Hall, and Chancellorship of Cambridge; made Lord Chancellor of England (23 Aug.).
1 Oct., 1553	Crowns Queen Mary.
Nov., 1553	Secures repeal of Edwardine ecclesiastical legislation.
25 Jan.–7 Feb., 1554	Wyatt's rebellion.
25 July, 1554	Performs wedding of Philip and Mary.
Nov., 1554	Welcomes Cardinal Pole.
Dec., 1554	Secures reenactment of heresy laws.
Jan., 1555	Condemns five reformers to the stake.
May–June, 1555	Mission to mediate peace between France and Empire.
21 Oct., 1555	Last speech in Parliament.
12 Nov., 1555	Dies at Whitehall.
Feb., 1556	His body carried to Winchester.

A SKETCH OF GARDINER'S LIFE

Stephen Gardiner, born about 1497 at Bury St Edmunds, was the son of John Gardiner, a reasonably well-to-do cloth-maker (d. 1507), and Agnes his wife.

In 1511 we find him in Paris in the household of a Mr Eden —doubtless either Thomas or Richard Eden, named in John Gardiner's will as trustees for his children. Erasmus appears to have been an intimate of the Eden household, for Gardiner later recalled how, at that time, he daily prepared for him his favourite salad. Afterwards, at Cambridge, Erasmus offered to take Gardiner into his service, but the offer was declined.

Gardiner entered Trinity Hall, Cambridge, probably in the autumn of 1511, studying chiefly Civil and Canon Law, but at the same time in all likelihood coming under the influence of the humanistic group there. In 1518 he became Bachelor of Civil Law; in 1521, Doctor in that faculty; and, in 1522, Doctor of Canon Law. He lectured at the University in Civil Law, 1521–2; in Canon Law, 1522–3; and in both, 1523–4. He was probably not ordained to the priesthood before 1521.

It was perhaps while on a mission from the University to Wolsey in 1523 that he was first brought to the Cardinal's notice. At any rate we find him, in the autumn of 1524, in Wolsey's service, where he remained till 1529.

In 1525 he was elected Master of Trinity Hall, an office he held, except for a brief period of deprivation under Edward VI, until his death. He is mentioned as Archdeacon of Taunton in 1526, and of Worcester in 1528.

He accompanied the Cardinal on his triumphal journey to France in 1527, by which time he had become thoroughly conversant with 'the King's matter,' as the contemplated divorce of Henry VIII from Catherine of Aragon was called; and in

1528 he was dispatched, in company with Edward Fox, to Pope Clement VII, then at Orvieto, to secure a commission enabling Wolsey and Campeggio to decide the case in England. Early in 1529 he was again sent to the Papal Court, now at Rome, to secure evidence of the falsity of a brief alleged by Catherine to have been issued by Pope Julius II in her behalf. He was recalled in June to take part in the trial of the case before Wolsey and Campeggio, and, immediately after the failure of these judges to give sentence, was made Principal Secretary to the King.

He was believed, by some of his contemporaries, to have plotted with the Boleyn party to undo his old master. The evidence for this is tenuous. The most that can be said with certainty is that, understanding the inevitability of Wolsey's fall if the Pope failed to sanction the annulment of Henry's marriage, he sought to ingratiate himself with both Henry and Anne Boleyn from the moment that he saw clearly that Clement, under pressure of Catherine's nephew, the Emperor Charles V, was unable to grant Henry's desires. Wolsey, after his fall, appears to have continued to regard Gardiner as his friend, and Gardiner did everything in his power to save the Cardinal's colleges from dissolution.

From 1529 to 1532 he was increasingly active in the King's business, and was rewarded with the archdeaconry of Norfolk in 1529, with that of Leicester in March, 1531, and with the bishopric of Winchester in September of the same year. He was consecrated 3 December, 1531. Winchester was the wealthiest see in England and, next to Canterbury, the most important. It included both the present dioceses of Winchester and Southwark, the bishop's chief residence being at Winchester House, Southwark, near the Church of St Mary Overies, now Southwark Cathedral.

When, early in 1532, Gardiner was in France negotiating an alliance against the Emperor, Henry VIII complained that his absence was the lack of his right hand. Thomas Cromwell, who

reported this to Gardiner, was himself doing his best to fill the lack. On his return Gardiner had more than an intimation of the direction in which Cromwell was about to lead—or encourage—the King, in the demand made on Convocation, in April, that it surrender its right to legislate on faith and morals. Gardiner led the opposition to this in Convocation and, with Thomas More, in Parliament; which resulted in his loss of the royal favour for a time, and, in all probability, of the see of Canterbury, which became vacant at Warham's death, three months later, and was given to Cranmer in January, 1533. Gardiner's abilities as diplomat and legist were, however, necessary to the King, and he was again at Court in June, 1532. In October he accompanied Henry to Calais for an interview with Francis I, and in May, 1533 acted as chief counsel in Henry's suit, now before Archbishop Cranmer, for the annulment of his marriage with Catherine. In the autumn of the same year he was sent to Marseilles, to intimate to Clement VII, who came thither for an interview with Francis I, Henry's appeal from his judgment to that of a General Council.

On his return he again came in conflict with the policy of the King and Cromwell, in the Parliament of 1534, opposing the anti-clerical and anti-papal measures of its first session. This resulted in his complete loss of the royal favour. Cromwell succeeded him as Principal Secretary in April, when he retired to his diocese, remaining there a year and a half.

Although he had opposed the ecclesiastical measures in Parliament up to the point of their adoption, he acquiesced in them when they became law, declaring that an act of Parliament discharged his conscience. Hence, after the passage of the Supremacy Act in the November session of 1534, he made no difficulty about renouncing the Roman obedience, which he did on 10 February, 1535, and later that year wrote a defence of the royal supremacy (*De Vera Obedientia Oratio*) as well as a reply to the Papal brief denouncing Henry for the execution of Bishop Fisher.

In October, 1535, he was sent as ambassador to the French Court, where he stayed three years. It was rumoured that Cromwell, fearing his opposition at home, saw to it that he was kept there.

For a year and a half after his return he had little opportunity for successful opposition to Cromwell. He was said, with probable truth, to have been the author of the Act of the Six Articles in 1539, but it was not until the beginning of 1540 that events discredited Cromwell's foreign policy, and Robert Barnes, a reforming protégé of Cromwell, involved himself in a controversy with Gardiner and, by his words and actions, gave colour to the charge that Cromwell was supporting heretical preachers and seeking to overthrow the established religion. Both Cromwell and Barnes were attainted by Parliament, Cromwell being executed and Barnes burned in July, 1540.

From this time until the last few months of the reign Gardiner was the most influential member of Henry's Council, and although he by no means wielded the power of Wolsey or even, perhaps, that of Cromwell, there was probably no one who knew so well how to suggest matters to the King as to make him believe they were his own policies, nor how better to play upon Henry's 'virtuous desire' to be the 'stay of Christendom.' On the whole, Gardiner succeeded, during Henry's life, in effecting his aims; namely, the retention in the Church of Catholic theology and episcopal power; the keeping of England from any approach, theological or political, to the German Protestants; and a close alliance with the Empire, thus forestalling a possible combination of Continental powers under Papal leadership against England, yet making for the retention of orthodoxy in England, and ensuring profitable commercial intercourse with the Imperial territory of Flanders. Gardiner's dread of Protestantism was no less political than theological, for he was convinced that it would, as in Germany, bring with it civil war and anarchy.

Immediately after Cromwell's fall, he acted as the King's chief counsel in the divorce of Anne of Cleves; and it was at his house in Southwark that Henry met his next wife, Catherine Howard. He succeeded Cromwell as Chancellor of Cambridge University in 1540, and at the end of that year went on a special embassy to the Imperial Court where he remained, moving with it from Namur to Ratisbon, until July, 1541, paving the way for an English alliance with the Empire.

In the spring of 1542, according to Gardiner's own statement, Henry specifically designated him as his chief minister. In the Convocation of that year he endeavoured to secure a new translation of the Bible, free from what he believed to be the Protestant bias of Tyndale's and Coverdale's work. In the same year he had a lengthy controversy with John Cheke and Thomas Smith on the pronunciation of Greek; and negotiated with Chapuys, Imperial ambassador in England, for the completion of the alliance with Charles V. These negotiations, interrupted by war with Scotland, during which Gardiner, as Purveyor General, had the oversight of provisioning the English forces, were concluded in February, 1543, by a treaty providing for a joint invasion of France within the next two years.

On 12 July, 1543, he performed the wedding ceremony of the King and his sixth and last wife, Catherine Parr. He was, in this year, the dominant member of the committee which prepared the *King's Book*, a revision of the *Bishops' Book* of 1537 in the Catholic direction; he led the Council in the suppression of heretical books, plays, and preachers; and undoubtedly welcomed, though it is not clear that in the first instance he instigated, the collection of evidence against persons in the King's household at Windsor, and among Cranmer's clergy at Canterbury, who were disseminating Protestant opinions. This activity led to a counter-attack. One of his secretaries and probable kinsman, Germain Gardiner, was executed in March, 1544, for denying the royal supremacy, and

there is evidence for believing that an attempt was made to persuade the King to commit Gardiner himself to the Tower. But he retained the royal favour and, after again supervising supplies and munitions in the renewed war with Scotland, 1543–4, and for the invasion of France in the summer of 1544, he led the commission which treated with France for peace, and, when satisfactory terms were not reached, he and Hertford went to Brussels to induce Charles V to put pressure on the French. This mission was unsuccessful, but in 1545 Charles offered to mediate, and Gardiner was sent to the Imperial Court to make peace with France, and, at the same time, to revise and cement the Imperial alliance. He failed in the first but was successful in the second, thereby enabling England to exact better terms from France in 1546.

During the last three years of Henry's reign, despite his absorption in affairs of state, his pen was busy refuting Protestant writers. It was probably early in 1544 that he published his pamphlet against William Turner. In the same year appeared his first book against Martin Bucer, with whom he had debated at Ratisbon in 1541; in 1546 his second. In 1546 also were published his refutation of George Joye, and his *Detection of the Devils Sophistrie*.

He maintained his ascendancy in the Council until the latter half of 1546, when, with the increasing illness of the King, Hertford (later Duke of Somerset), uncle of Prince Edward, and Lisle (later Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland) set about to gain control in the coming reign. There were preliminary clashes with Gardiner and his supporters in the Council in October, and before the end of the year the rash words and acts of Surrey, leading to his own execution and the imprisonment of his father, the Duke of Norfolk, Gardiner's chief ally among the nobility, ensured the success of the Hertford-Lisle group, to whom Paget, Gardiner's one-time pupil and recent supporter, went over. Although they succeeded in having Gardiner's name excluded from the list of